

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIALINFORMATION  
September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. KISSINGER

FROM:

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE  
INSTRUCTIONS APPLYRICHARD H. SOLOMON *RHS*

SUBJECT:

Chinese Leaders Send Pessimistic  
Anniversary Message to Hanoi

MORI C05078785

As in past years on September 1, the Peking leadership has sent a message of congratulations to the leadership in Hanoi on the occasion of the founding of the DRV. This year's message, when compared with that of last year, conveys an air of pessimism about the progress of the war, while reaffirming the "all out support and assistance" of the Chinese people to the Vietnamese people.

Last year's message characterized the situation in Indochina as "unprecedentedly fine." Reference was made to the unity of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples, who were fighting under the "militant banner of the Summit Conference of Indo-chinese Peoples," and would soon attain "the seizure of complete victory." The U.S.-supported "puppet cliques" in these countries were said to be in a "state of utter chaos," and the defeat of the U.S. was characterized as a "foregone conclusion."

This year's message contains absolutely no characterization of the situation as favorable to the Vietnamese, or that victory is imminent. Now the Chinese say they are "deeply convinced" that the Vietnamese people, being "tempered in protracted revolutionary wars" will "certainly defeat U.S. imperialist aggression." The implication, however, is that victory is a long way off, and for the Chinese is a matter of faith (they are "deeply convinced" it will come) rather than of certain expectation. A similar view is carried in the phrase of this year's message that, "Final victory surely belongs to the heroic Vietnamese and other Indo-chinese peoples."

The phrase in this year's message about the Vietnamese people being "tempered in protracted revolutionary wars" carries an implicit criticism of Hanoi's current strategy of large-scale, conventional military actions, and suggests that the Chinese expect (or are urging) Hanoi to return to "protracted revolutionary war" in the face of existing circumstances in Vietnam.

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2

Additional implicit criticism of Hanoi is contained in the ironic statement in this year's message that "under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party, the heroic Vietnamese people... with militant revolutionary stamina... have safeguarded the fruits of socialism in northern Vietnam..." Clearly the current strategy of the Lao Dong Party has led to the near total destruction of the "fruits of socialism" by bringing on the American bombing campaign against the north, and despite the "revolutionary stamina" of the people.

Finally, emphasizing Peking's expectation of continuing difficulties for Hanoi if it sustains its present strategy, the message notes that, "No matter what hardships and dangers the Vietnamese people may still face in the war against U.S. aggression... the Chinese people will remain on your side..." (emphasis added).

The only other point that might be made about the message is that where last year's greeting was signed by Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao, and Chou En-lai, this year it is signed by Mao, Tung Pi-wu (acting head of state), Chu Teh (Chairman of the National People's Congress), and Chou. This list of names seems to emphasize the effort in Peking to reconstruct the civilian apparatus of government.

The text of this year's message follows.

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PRC LEADERS SEND GREETINGS ON DRV NATIONAL DAY

B011221 PEKING NCNA INTERNATIONAL SERVICE IN ENGLISH  
1200 GMT 1 SEP 72 9

(TEXT) PEKING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1972 (HSINHUA)--COMRADE MAO TSETUNG, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, COMRADE TUNG PI-WU, ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, COMRADE CHU TE, CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI, PREMIER OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, TODAY SENT A MESSAGE TO COMRADE TON DUC THANG, PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, COMRADE LE DUAN, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIETNAM WORKERS PARTY, COMRADE TRUONG CHINH, CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, AND COMRADE PHAM VAN DONG, PREMIER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, EXTENDING THE WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THE 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM. THE FULL TEXT OF THE MESSAGE READS:

COMRADE TON DUC THANG, PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,

COMRADE LE DUAN, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIETNAM WORKERS PARTY,

COMRADE TRUONG CHINH, CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,

COMRADE PHAM VAN DONG, PREMIER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 27TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, WE, ON BEHALF OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE, EXTEND THE WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS TO THE VIETNAM WORKERS PARTY, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND THE FRATERNAL VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE VIETNAM WORKERS PARTY, THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE PEOPLE HAVE IN THE PAST 27 YEARS FOUGHT WITH DAUNTLESS HEROISM AND MILITANT REVOLUTIONARY STAMINA AGAINST ONE IMPERIALIST WAR OF AGGRESSION AFTER ANOTHER AND SAFEGUARDED THE FRUITS OF SOCIALISM IN NORTHERN VIETNAM, WRITING BRILLIANT CHAPTERS IN THE ANNALS OF THE CAUSE OF LIBERATION OF THE VIETNAMESE NATION. THE HEROIC DEEDS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE IN THEIR ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES HAVE BEEN A TREMENDOUS ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE AND A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF ALL THE OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

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AT PRESENT, THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION AND FOR NATIONAL SALVATION IS DEVELOPING TRIUMPHANTLY AND THE WHOLE SITUATION IN INDOCHINA IS EXCELLENT. THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE HAVE LAUNCHED FIERCE OFFENSIVES IN VARIOUS BATTLEFIELDS, DEALT HEAVY BLOWS TO THE U.S. IMPERIALIST SCHEME OF "VIETNAMIZING" THE WAR AND SCORED SPLENDID VICTORIES. U.S. IMPERIALISM HAS ATTEMPTED TO FORCE THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO CEASE FIGHTING BY STEPPING UP ITS AIR AND NAVAL RAIDS AND IMPOSING A BLOCKADE THROUGH THE LAYING OF MINES, BUT THIS IS SHEER DAY-DREAMING. THE BOMBS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM HAVE NOT SHAKEN AND WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO SHAKE THE IRON WILL OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE. FOLLOWING PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S TEACHING "WE PREFER TO MAKE ANY SACRIFICE RATHER THAN LOSE THE FATHERLAND AND BE SLAVES," THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, UNITED AS ONE AND FEARING NO DIFFICULTIES, ARE ADVANCING TRIUMPHANTLY WITH FIRM MILITANT STRIDES. WE ARE DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, TEMPERED IN PROTRACTED REVOLUTIONARY WARS AND FIGHTING IN UNITY WITH THE PEOPLES OF LAOS AND CAMBODIA, WILL CERTAINLY DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AND WIN COMPLETE VICTORY IN THEIR WAR AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION AND FOR NATIONAL SALVATION.

THE CHINESE AND VIETNAMESE PEOPLES ARE CLOSE COMRADES-IN-ARMS AND BROTHERS SHARING WEAL AND WOE AND GOING THROUGH THICK AND THIN TOGETHER. TO SUPPORT AND ASSIST THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION AND FOR NATIONAL SALVATION IS A BOUNDEN INTERNATIONALIST DUTY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. NO MATTER WHAT HARDSHIPS AND DANGERS THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE MAY STILL FACE IN THE WAR AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION AND FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, THE CHINESE PEOPLE WILL REMAIN ON YOUR SIDE AND GIVE ALL-OUT SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO YOUR JUST STRUGGLE.

FINAL VICTORY SURELY BELONGS TO THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE AND OTHER INDOCHINESE PEOPLES!

MAO TSETUNG, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA,

TUNG PI-WU, ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA,

CHU TE, CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA,

CHOU EN-LAI, PREMIER OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA,

PEKING, SEPTEMBER 1, 1972